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ABILENE KANSAS

CLYDE A WHEELER: Papers, 1934-89

Accessions 91-3, 91-3/1 & 91-3/2

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Date Completed: February 1994

The papers of Clyde A. Wheeler were deposited in the Eisenhower Library by Mr. Wheeler in 1990 and 1991.

Linear feet of shelf space occupied:	37
Approximate number of pages:	68,800
Approximate number of items:	30,000

An instrument of gift for these papers was signed by Mr. Wheeler in February 1991. Literary rights in the unpublished writings of Mr. wheeler in this collection and in all other collections of papers received by the United States have been donated to the public. Under terms of the instrument of gift the following classes of documents are withheld from research use:

1. Papers which constitute an invasion of personal privacy or a libel of a living person.
2. Papers which are required to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and are properly classified.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Clyde A. Wheeler, congressional relations expert, lobbyist, and member of the White house staff, was born at Laverne, Oklahoma, in 1921. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II and attended Oklahoma State University in Stillwater from which he received his bachelor and masters degrees. After working at a variety of jobs in Kansas and Oklahoma he developed an interest in Republican politics and was hired by the Oklahoma Republican State Central committee in 1950 to help manage the state's Republican campaign of that year. A major result of the campaign was the election of Page Belcher to the House of Representatives.

Because of Wheeler's work in the 1950 campaign, Belcher invited him to Washington, DC, to organize his office staff. Wheeler spent three years as Belcher's executive secretary. He handled Belcher's public relations, and helped manage Belcher's district and Washington, DC, offices. Wheeler was also active in the Young Republican Federation and was elected vice chairman of the national organization in 1953.

In February 1954, Ross Rizley, a Republican from Oklahoma who was serving as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, invited Wheeler to the Agriculture Department. Wheeler became Rizley's confidential assistant and helped him manage Republican patronage in the department.

In March 1955, Wheeler transferred to the office of Ezra Taft Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture, where he joined Benson's congressional liaison staff. His success in working with members of Congress attracted the attention of Bryce Harlow who was a member of President Eisenhower's congressional liaison staff at the White House. In February 1959 Harlow, who was also from Oklahoma, arranged to have Wheeler join the White House staff as a staff assistant to the President. Wheeler continued his congressional liaison work and specialized in agriculture-related legislation.

As the Eisenhower administration neared its end, Wheeler, who wanted to return to Oklahoma, received a job offer from the Sunray Mid-Continent Oil Company of Tulsa. However, a political opportunity arose which Wheeler was unable to resist. The sixth congressional district of Oklahoma, which included his home town of Laverne, was represented by Toby Morris. In the 1960 campaign Morris was defeated for reelection in the primary by former congressman Victor Wickersham. Although the district was heavily Democratic, the bitter primary campaign left the Democrats badly split and it appeared likely that the Republicans could capture the seat. When the Republican candidate withdrew from the race in August the party leadership in the district appealed to Wheeler to represent the party in the election.

After some initial hesitation, Wheeler accepted the challenge. He resigned from the White House staff at the end of August and returned to Oklahoma where he spent the next two months campaigning actively for the Congressional seat. When the election was held on November 8, Wheeler was found to have won by only 188 votes. Wickersham, however, refused to accept such a narrow defeat and demanded a recount. When the votes were counted a second time several tallying errors were found which shifted a number of votes to Wickersham's favor. This was enough to give Wickersham the election. In mid-December Wickersham was declared the winner, much to the surprise of Wheeler, who had been assigned office space at the House of Representatives and was preparing for the move back to Washington. The opening at Sunray Oil was still available so Wheeler settled instead at Tulsa and took up his new job in January 1961

As Public Affairs Representative at Sunray Oil, Wheeler's main job was to follow state and national legislation which affected Sunray Oil and the oil industry. He also developed an educational program to encourage Sunray's employees to participate in the political process. Outside of work Wheeler was active in community affairs. He taught Sunday School and supported Goodwill Industries and other charitable organizations in the Tulsa area. In December 1964 Governor Henry Bellmon appointed him to the Oklahoma State Board of Regents, which developed policy for the state's colleges and universities.

During 1968 and 1969, Sunray Oil merged with the Sun Oil Company of Pennsylvania. Wheeler was on the committee which helped combine the public affairs offices of the two companies. In 1970 the reorganized company, Sun Oil Incorporated, sent him to Washington, DC, to take charge of its government relations office. As Vice President for Government Relations, Wheeler was basically a lobbyist who worked with Congress and officials of the Executive branch of government to develop legislation favorable to the oil industry. He helped channel contributions from Sun Oil's Political Action Committee to Congressional candidates who were known to favor the oil industry. He also helped direct charitable contributions by the company to various cultural and educational organizations in the Washington, DC, area, such as the Center for Strategic & International Studies at Georgetown University, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and Ford's Theatre.

In April 1984 Wheeler retired from Sun Oil and returned to his ranch at Laverne, Oklahoma, although he continued to work part-time as a legislative consultant to two Washington law firms until 1988

Wheeler's papers form a large collection which contains extensive documentation on his career in government and private industry. The bulk of the material covers the period from 1951 when he first went to Washington with Page Belcher's staff until his final retirement in 1988. The collection is divided into eight series, the first five of which cover the main chronological periods of Wheeler's career.

The Belcher Office Series consists primarily of printed material collected by Wheeler while working in Page Belcher's office, and some of Wheeler's personal correspondence. The series documents Wheeler's interest in Republican politics but contains few references to the activities of Congressman Belcher or the operation of his office. Scholars interested in these matters should consult Belcher's personal papers which are at the University of Oklahoma.

The Department of Agriculture Series contains printed material on Agriculture Department programs and some of Wheeler's personal correspondence. Most of the material is from the period 1957-59 and covers Wheeler's congressional liaison activities and his interest in Republican politics. There is very little information on Wheeler's work for Ross Rizley during 1954 and 1955.

The White House Series contains analyses of legislation, reports on lobbying by the White House staff, and Wheeler's personal correspondence from the period of his service at the White House. The material forms a detailed account of major agricultural legislation considered by Congress during the last two years of the Eisenhower administration. This series should be used in conjunction with the office files of other members of the White House staff who dealt with agricultural policy, particularly Bryce Harlow, Philip Areeda and Don Paarlberg.

The 1960 Campaign Series pertains to Wheeler's race for the House of Representatives from the 6th district of Oklahoma. It contains extensive correspondence with his campaign supporters and the general public, samples of campaign literature produced by Wheeler and his staff, newspaper accounts of the campaign, and legal papers relating to the recount by which Victor Wickersham ultimately won the election. Wickersham's papers are at Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas.

The Subject Series pertains to Wheeler's later career with Sunray and Sun Oil Companies. His work as a public affairs expert and Oil industry lobbyist is especially well documented. The series contains extensive material on the role of a lobbyist and the philosophy behind the work of political action committees. There is also extensive material on Wheeler's outside interests, including his relationship with his alma mater Oklahoma State University, and his work on behalf of various educational and charitable organizations, particularly the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The series contains very little information on Wheeler's work as a legislative consultant after his retirement from Sun Oil in April 1984.

The last three series in the collection are subject-oriented. The Politics Series pertains to Wheeler's interest in the Republican party. It is divided into two subseries, of which the Alphabetical Subseries contains printed material on a variety of political topics of interest to Wheeler. These include politics at the state and local level, Democratic and Republican philosophies. The Chronological Subseries contains information on the various political campaigns in which Wheeler participated. Especially well documented is Charles "Bud" Wilkinson's unsuccessful campaign for the U. S. Senate from Oklahoma in 1964, and Wheeler's fund raising efforts on behalf of Page Belcher.

The Speech Series contains reference material collected by Wheeler to help him prepare speeches. The series also contains the texts of several of Wheeler's major speeches, most of which are from the period of his service with Sunray Oil in Oklahoma, 1961-69

The Scrapbook Series contains scrapbooks of news clippings and memorabilia which were compiled by Wheeler and his wife during the period 1951 to 1970. Also in this series are loose clippings and memorabilia which were not filed in the scrapbooks, and a few fragmentary files, mostly school papers and letters of praise, covering Wheeler's early life prior to 1951.

CHRONOLOGY

March 12, 1921	Born in Laverne, Oklahoma
August 1947	B.A. degree, Oklahoma State University
August 1950	M.A. degree, Oklahoma State University
January 1951- February 1954	Executive Secretary to Congressman Page Belcher (R-OK)
August 23, 1953	Married Barbara A. Dodd
February 1954- March 1955	Confidential Assistant to Ross Rizley, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
March 1955- February 1959	Assistant for Congressional Liaison to Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture
February 1959- August 1960	Staff Assistant to President Eisenhower for Congressional Relations
1960	Candidate for U. S. House of Representatives from Oklahoma
1961-68	Public Affairs Representative for Sunray Oil Company of Tulsa Oklahoma
1968-69	Helped plan merger of Sunray and Sun Oil Companies
1970-84	Director of Government Relations for Sun Oil Company
April 1, 1984	Retired from Sun Oil Company
April-December 1984	Legislative consultant to law firm of Riddell, Fox, Holroyd & Jackson
1985-88	Legislative consultant to law firm of Bishop, Liberman, Cook, Purcell & Reynolds

SERIES DESCRIPTION

<u>Box No.</u>	<u>Series</u>
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1-6	I. Belcher Office Series. 1951-54	6 boxes
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Mostly print material collected by Wheeler while working in the office of Congressman Page Belcher (R-OK), arranged by subject. The series also contains a small quantity of Wheeler's personal correspondence, arranged alphabetically, and some material on the Young Republican organization which Wheeler was active. Page Belcher's office files from this period are at the University of Oklahoma in Norman.

6-9	II. Department of Agriculture Series. 1954-59	2 ½ boxes
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Reference material on agricultural programs collected by Wheeler while working in the Agriculture Department, arranged by subject. Most of the material covers the period 1957-58. The series also contains a small quantity of Wheeler's personal correspondence. The office files of Ezra Taft Benson and Ross Rizley Form this period are at the National Archives. Benson's personal papers are at the Mormon Church archives in Salt Lake City, Utah, although the Eisenhower Library has a microfilm copy of selected files.

9-20	III. White House Series. 1959-60.	11 boxes
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Reference material on the legislative program of the Eisenhower administration, mostly regarding agriculture matters. Some of the material pertains to White House lobbying efforts in Congress. The series also contains some of Wheeler's personal correspondence.

20-27	IV 1960 Campaign Series. August-December 1960.	7 1/2 boxes.
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Correspondence, reports and printed material concerning Wheeler's campaign for the U. S House of Representatives from the 6th district of Oklahoma. Victor Wickersham's papers for this period are at Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas.

27-62	V. Subject Series. 1961-89.	35 boxes.
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Correspondence, memoranda, reports and printed material documenting Wheeler's later career with Sunray and Sun Oil companies; his interest in the petroleum industry, lobbying, agricultural and educational matters, and Oklahoma State University. Arranged alphabetically by subject.

Box No. Series

63-74 VI. Politics Series. 1948-84. 12 boxes.

Correspondence, memoranda, reports and printed material regarding Wheeler's interest in Republican politics, arranged in two subseries. The Alphabetical Subseries contains printed material and news clippings on a variety of political topics and individuals. The Chronological Subseries contains correspondence, reports, news clippings and campaign literature, arranged by the date of the campaign in which Wheeler was active.

75-82 VII. Speech Series. 1951-86. 8 boxes.

Reference material collected by Wheeler to help him prepare speeches; material includes pamphlets, news clippings and copies of speeches by others. The material is arranged by subject. The series also contains texts of speeches delivered by Wheeler, arranged chronologically, 1961-80.

83-87 VIII. Scrapbook Series. 1934-89. 5 boxes.

Scrapbooks of news clippings and memorabilia compiled by Clyde and Barbara Wheeler, 1951-70. The series also contains loose clippings and memorabilia which were not filed in the scrapbooks; fragmentary correspondence and school papers from Wheeler's early life, 1934-50; and oversized items removed from other parts of the collection.

CONTAINER LIST

<u>Box No.</u>	<u>Contents</u>
1	Belcher Office Series Agricultural Price Supports American Government (1)-(4) Campaign Literature (1)(2) Communism (1)-(4)
2	Communism (5)-(7) Congressional Directory Editorials & Excerpts from Magazines (1)(2) Farm Material Lincoln, Abraham MacArthur, Douglas (1)-(3)
3	MacArthur, Douglas (4) National Reference Library Speech Material (1)-(4) Poems Political Notebook 1952 (1)(2) Republican Party (1)(2) Roosevelt, Theodore Speeches (1)(2)
4	Speeches (3)-(9) Steel Seizure (1)(2)

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- 5 Stillwater Post Office Case (1)(2) [use of mails by Mike Monroney during 1950 campaign]
- Taft, Senator Robert A.
- Truman, Harry
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters A-B (1)(2) [Sullivan Barnes re Young Republicans; Russell Boates, Percy Butler re patronage]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters C (1)(2) [Floyd Carrier; Ruth Carson; K. B. Cornell]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters D-G [Jim Ellis re CAW's former business; Millard Fowler re grazing leases]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters H [J. C. Holmes re patronage]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters I-L [Albert Kelly re Young Republicans; Walter Lake re patronage]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters M
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters N-P [Siegel Nelson; Walter Neustadt re Young Republicans; Oklahoma State Society]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters Political (1)(2) [Young Republicans]
- 6 Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters R [John Rauh; Dalton Richards re patronage; Gerald Rogers re Young Republicans; Jo Rollins re Oklahoma redistricting]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters S
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters T-V [Paula Unruh]
- Wheeler, Clyde – Personal Letters W-Z
- Wheeler, Clyde – Speech Outlines and Material [CAW's duties in Belcher's office; campaigning among Cherokee Indians]
- Young Republican Federation (1) - (4)
- Young Republicans of Oklahoma (Old Lists) (1)(2)
- Department of Agriculture Series

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(cont.) Agriculture Facts
Agriculture – General (1)(2) [USSR; PL 480]
- 7 Agriculture Speeches (1)-(7)
Appointment Book 1958
Electric Power (1)(2) [Southwestern Power Administration]
- 8 Electric Power (3)
Friant File (1)(2) [correspondence of Julian Friant & Roy Hendrickson, USDA officials, 1938-41, re patronage & personnel matters; file acquired by CAW while working in USDA]
Powers, James
Printed Material (1)(2)
Proposed Legislation 85th Congress 2nd Session
Reading File 1958 (1)-(5) [Congressional relations; patronage & personnel matters; Ezra Taft Benson; George Malone; Wint Smith]
Wheeler, C. A. – Personal 1954-57 (1)-(4) [political appointees in USDA; agricultural attaché in Uruguay; Roy Schoeb re livestock, surpluses, soil bank; Bureau of Indian Affairs in Oklahoma; political clearances for appointees]
- 9 Wheeler, C. A. – Personal 1958-59 (1)-(4) [wheat acreage allotment; storage of feed grain]
Wheeler, C. A. – Personnel File
White House Series
Agricultural Platform 1960
Agriculture Committee – House (1)-(7) [sugar; cotton; subsidies; wheat; corn; farm incomes; farm labor; peanuts; tobacco]
- 10 Agriculture committee – Senate [feed grain; wheat]
Agriculture – General (1)-(7) [grain storage; PL 480; Food for Peace; Price supports; cotton]

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- 10 Agriculture – Soil Bank (1)-(3)
(cont.) Airports Bill
- 11 American Farm Bureau Federation (1)(2)
- Answer Desk (1)-(4) [RNC newsletter, Aug 1960]
- Appropriations – House
- Armed Services Committee
- Associations
- Banking & Currency Committee [home ownership; area redevelopment]
- Barter – PL 480 (1)(2)
- Secretary Benson (1)(2)
- Education & Labor Committee [minimum wage]
- Farm Bill 1960 (1)
- 12 Farm Bill 1960 (2)-(5)
- Farmers Home Administration
- Finance Committee (Senate) [taxation of life insurance companies]
- Fleming, J. D. National Cottonseed Products Association (1)(2)
- Food for Peace
- Foreign Affairs Committee (House) (1)(2)
- Franklin, Robert
- Gieb, Harold (1)(2) [REA loans]
- Government Operations Committee (Senate) [foreign gifts]
- 13 Hoover Commissions (1)-(4)
- Housing Bill

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- 13 Interior Committee
(cont.) Interstate & Foreign Commerce (House) (1)(2)

Judiciary Committee

Labor Committee (1)-(4) [school construction; farm laborers]

Landis, Gerald [farm income; wheat; corn; livestock]

Legislative Activities – Memos to Bryce Harlow (1) [weekly reports re congressional action on major legislation]
- 14 Legislative Activities – Memos to Bryce Harlow (2)(3)

Legislative Leaders Meeting – Agenda (1)(2) [analyses of major bills]

Legislative Notes 1960 (1)-(4)

Legislative Weekly Report 1960 (1)-(4)

Liljenquist, Blaine Western Meat Packers [federal grading of meat]
- 15 Miscellaneous 1959 (1)-(5) [patronage & personnel matters; US grain shipped through Canada; Tulsa milk supply]

Miscellaneous 1960 (1)-(3)

Miscellaneous (for Mr. Harlow) [grain storage rates]

National Lumber Manufacturers Association (1)(2)

Poage Bill (1)(2) [Family Farm Income Act of 1960]
- 16 Poage Bill (3)

Post Office & Civil Service Committee

Powers, James [Farmers Home Administration]

Presidential Messages (1)-(3)

Price, Doug – Fact Sheets

Public Works Committee (House)

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16 Reading File 1959 (1)-(3) [Strom Thurman; shipment of US surpluses from
(cont.) Canadian ports; wheat & tobacco]

Reading File 1960 (1)-(4)

17 Republican Policy Committee (Senate) (1)-(10)

18 Research (Agriculture) (1)-(3)

Rickman, Henry M. (Mark)

Rural Electrification Administration (1)-(7)

Secret Service

Small Business Administration

Smith, Thomas

19 Southwestern Power Administration (Dana Jones) (1)(2)

Stover, William H. M. (Bill)

Sunray Mid-Continent Oil Co.

Tobacco

Vote Analyses (1)-(3)

Ways & Means Committee (1)(2) [social security; health insurance; IADB]

Wheat (1)(2)

Wheeler, C. A. –

Appointment to White House Staff (1)-(3)

20 Wheeler, C. A. – Appointment to White House Staff (1)-(3)

Wheeler, C. A. – Personal 1960 (1)-(5) [patronage & personnel matters; Oklahoma politics]

Wheeler, C. A. – Personal 1960 (1)-(5) [Oklahoma politics]

1960 Campaign Series

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20 Advertising
(cont.)

Campaign Contributions (1)-(3)

21 Campaign Expenses – Bank Statements

Campaign Expenses – Bills (1)(2)

Campaign Expenses – Cancelled Checks

Campaign Expenses – Checkbook

Campaign Expenses – Deposits

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Correspondence B (1)-(3)

Correspondence C (1)-(3)

22 Correspondence D

Correspondence E

Correspondence F (1)(2) [J. D. Fleming re cotton]

Correspondence G (1)(2)

Correspondence H (1)-(3) [Charles Halleck; T. D. Harris re Wickersham activities;
Malcolm Holiday re FHA loans]

Correspondence Harter, Byron E. “Spud” [campaign literature]

Correspondence I-J

Correspondence K

23 Correspondence L (1)(2)

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24	Correspondence S (1)-(3) [Hollis Stearns re black vote] Correspondence T-V (1)(2) Correspondence W-Z (1)(2) Correspondence – Miscellaneous (1)-(3) Correspondence – Wheeler Children County Contacts (1)-(3)
25	Election Returns (1)(2) General Papers (1)-(3) Literature (1)(2) Memorabilia News Clippings Post Office Statistics (1)(2) Press Releases (1)(2)
26	Recount Legal Papers (1)-(4) Requests for Employment (1)(2) Speech Kit (1)-(4) Speech Material (1)(2)
27	Speech Material (3)(4) Wickersham (1)(2) Wickersham Voting (1)-(3)

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- 27 Wickersham Voting Record Copy 2 (1)-(3)
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- 28 Agriculture Council of America (1)(2)
- Albert, Speaker Carl
- American Association of Political Consultants
- American League of Lobbyists
- American Petroleum Institute (1)(2)
- American Theatre Company (Jill Kamp Halloran)
- Appointment Book 1973
- Appointment Book 1974
- Appointment Book 1985
- Appointment book 1986
- 29 Appointment Books 1987-88
- B (1)-(3) [to Robert Beuhler re Oklahoma politics]
- Banowsky, William S. President, Oklahoma University
- Barter (1)-(5) [proposals to trade food for oil, 1983-86]
- Bartlett, Dewey F. (1)-(4) [domestic oil industry]
- 30 Bartlett, Dewey F. (5)-(7)
- Bartlett, Dewey F. Candidate for Governor 1966 (1)(2)
- Bartlett Council (1)(2) [Georgetown University research group on energy policy, 1984]
- Belcher, Congressman Page (1)-(6)

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- 31 Bellmon, Governor Henry 1961-68 (1)-(3)
- Bellmon, Senator Henry 1969-80 (1)-(4)
- Bellmon, Senator Henry 1981-87 (1)-(5)
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- Governor Bellmon – Appointments
- Governor Bellmon – Oil Advisory Council
- Governor Bellmon – Recommendations to (1)-(4)
- Bellmon/Bartlett Summer Jobs
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- Bishop, Liberman, Cook, Purcell & Reynolds (1)-(4)
- BLCPR – Expense Reports (1)
- 33 BLCPR – Expense Reports (2)-(4)
- BLCPR – Time Sheets (1)-(3)
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 Federal Land Bank Associations (1)(2)

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- 38 Illness 1969 – Get Well Cards (1)(2)
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- International Travel Immunization Information
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- Reading File 1969 (1)-(5) [CAW's move to Washington, DC; Oklahoma politics; Oklahoma colleges; Sun Oil merger; CAW's back operation]
- Reading File 1970
- Reading File 1971 (1)(5) [oil industry reaction to national legislation; agriculture problems;
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- 48 Reading File 1973 (1)(2)
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- Reading File Jan.-June 1979 (1)-(6) [legislation re oil companies; External Liaison
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- 50 Reading File Jan.-June 1980 (1)-(5) [public relations by oil industry]
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- 52 Reading File Oct.-Dec. 1981 (1)-(4) [natural gas decontrol; law firm in Beijing,
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- Reading File Jan.-Mar. 1982 (1)-(4) [Rural Heritage Center; conflicts between oil
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- 53 Reading File Oct.-Dec. 1982 (1)-(3) [Caribbean oil]
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- Sallee, Bill (1)-(3) [agricultural pollution]
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- Sun Oil – Management Processes Task Force
- Sun Oil – Miscellaneous
- Sun Oil – Practical Politics Workshop Sept. 20, 1962 (1)(2)
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- Sun Oil – Publication (1)(2)
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